1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

361 procure in return at the bazaar the rice and grain and other
437 things which have now taken their places among the neces-
443 saries of life. In consequence there exists a tendency for the larger part of the Todas, especially those of the Todanad, to live within an easy distance of Ootacamund, and many of the villages in the more distant parts of the hills are now only occupied for a few weeks in the year.

104 The Toda name for a village is *mad*,[1] but this is now often
196 replaced by the Badaga form of the word, *mand*, and the
361 latter word is used exclusively by the Europeans and others
621 living on the Nilgiri hills. A *mad* usually consists of several huts. In some villages there may be only one hut, and the maximum number I have seen is six. At some places where there was formerly a village with dwelling-huts there is now only a dairy, but the term *mad* is still applied to the place at which the dairy is situated. The term *mad* is also given to the funeral-places of the Todas. Sometimes the funeral-place is also a village at which people live; sometimes it has only a dairy; while in other places there may be no trace of human habitations; but the term *mad* is equally applied in all three cases. The term is also used for the dairies and accessory buildings connected with the most sacred herds of buffaloes (the *ti*). Each group of buildings is called a *mad* or *ti mad*. The term has therefore a wider significance than "village" and denotes rather a "place"—a place connected in any way with the active life of the Todas. The chief village of a clan and certain other sacred or important villages are called *etvdmad* and other villages are often known as *kinmad*.

343 A typical Toda village consists of a small group of huts
351 (*ars*), often on a piece of ground slightly raised above the
361 surrounding level and enclosed by a wall (*katu*). In this
417 wall there are two or three narrow openings, large enough to admit a man but not a buffalo. In most villages there is a dairy or there may be several dairies. Each of these buildings is also enclosed by a wall, usually higher than that surrounding the dwelling-huts. The dairies may be near the huts, but more commonly are at some little distance from

[1] The word *marth* is also occasionally used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 351 361 417

the latter. Somewhere near the dairy will be found a circular enclosure, the buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] in which the buffaloes are enclosed at night, and there may be more than one *tu* for use on different occasions or for different kinds of buffalo. There will be a small pen for the calves which is called *kadr* and there may also be a house for the calves (*kwotars*). A small structure called *kush* (? *kudsh*), used as an enclosure for calves less than fifteen days old, may often be seen, situated between the spreading roots of a tree.

312

Close to the village there will be at least one stream (*nipa*), and very often there are two streams. If possible, there should be two streams, in order that one may be used for the sacred purposes of the dairy, the *pali nipa*, while the other is used for household purposes, the *ars nipa*. Where there is only one stream, different parts are used for the two purposes, and the two parts of the stream then receive the names *pali nipa* and *ars nipa*. In this case the *pali nipa* is always above the *ars nipa*, so as to avoid the danger that the water used for the dairy shall have been contaminated by contact with household vessels. At some villages there may even be a third stream, or part of a stream, used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen.

It has often been a subject of remark by visitors to the Nilgiri Hills that the Todas have chosen the most beautiful spots for their dwellings, and interest has been taken in the love of beauty in nature which this choice shows. I think there can be little doubt that the choice of suitable dwelling-places has been chiefly determined by the necessity of a good water-supply, and if possible of a double water-supply, and the Todas have chosen the beautiful spots, not because they are beautiful, but because they are well watered. Their choice has been dictated, not by a love of beautiful scenery, but by the practical necessities of their daily life.

363 487 562

In the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or *kalvol* receive special names.

[1] Harkness and others have called this pen *tuel*, but repeated inquiry on my part failed to elicit this form of the word. *Tuelu* would mean "where is the *tu*?" and it is possible that Harkness heard the word in this form.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Some may not be traversed by women. When I first visited the village of Taradr, nearly the whole population of the village met me at the spot where the path to the village leaves the road. We all went along together till I suddenly found that I was walking with the men and boys only, while the women and girls were following another path. We were going by the way over which the sacred buffaloes travel

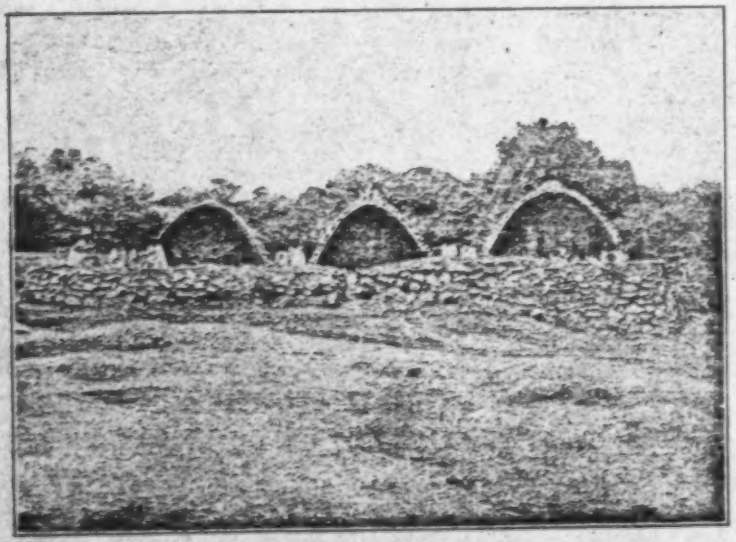


FIG. 6.—THE VILLAGE OF TARADR, SHOWING THE HOUSES SURROUNDED BY A WALL, IN WHICH THERE IS ONE OPENING IN THE MIDDLE.

when leaving or approaching the village, and the women might not tread this path, but had another appointed way by which they were to reach their home.

Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are especially important. One, the *punetkalvol*, is the path by which the dairyman goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the *majvatitthkalvol*, the path which the women must use when they go to the dairy to receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairyman. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times when they receive buttermilk given

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 554 778 784 793 When a *pokkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pokkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH 'OF KANDDRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotarz*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pokkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *puthuli*. The *pokkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 343 351 At Mòdr, the diary place I know best, all the buildings and objects of the *ti mad* are shut off from the outer world either by walls or by the natural configuration of the ground or forest. Within this screen, partly natural and partly artificial, there is the large milking-ground which may be entered by the buffaloes from two directions, and on one side of this are the three pens, the two dairies, and other buildings.

The more important of the two dairies has situated close to it the sleeping-hut and two huts for the calves, and this small group of buildings, shown in Fig. 27, is surrounded by a wall like that round the ordinary village dairy, leaving little space between the wall and buildings. These buildings, being within the outer boundaries of the *ti mad*, are already well screened from the world, and in consequence the surrounding wall is low. The other dairy is situated on the boundary, so that it can be seen by anyone outside the *ti mad*, and the wall around it is therefore high, so that a person standing outside can see nothing of the proceedings of the dairyman. At Mòdr the water springs are at some distance from the dairies and there is a special path by which the *palol* goes from the dairy to fetch water.

At another dairy, that of Anto, there is one path by which the *palol* goes to fetch water and another by which he returns, but I do not know if this is so at all dairies.

Although I visited Mòdr on many occasions, I never had an opportunity to investigate the buildings closely. I was never allowed to go within the walls enclosing the dairies, much less to go inside these buildings. If the annual programme of the *ti* had been carried out, the buffaloes would have left this place before the end of my visit, and I intended to make a thorough inspection after they had gone; but owing to various causes I mention elsewhere (see Chap. VI) the herds stayed at Mòdr till after my departure, and I had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact plan of the dairies and their surroundings.

234 343 352 The dairy of a *ti* always has two rooms, an inner room, the *ulkkursh*, and an outer room, the *pòrmunkursh*. These are divided from one another by a screen, or *patun*, which stretches

One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not

234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

The Kars Ti

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mad* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mad* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmokh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mad* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical
618 dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.[1] It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday,
764 and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Òdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Külthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still
361 inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

[1] By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum.

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*.

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalars* which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumpthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Türskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

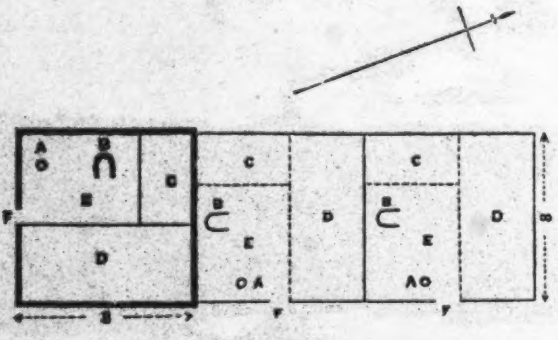
of India, only one or two little sticks at a time. The correctness of this observation is corroborated by the striking freedom of adults and children from eye-complaints. CHAP. VI. 164

A. The pestle and mortar—Kudi. 342

B. The fire-place—Vorsh, or Vorshkall. 352

C. The store or space, measuring 4½ ft. by 2½ ft., in which brass cups and plates, bamboo milk-pails—Honnu—are placed.

No. 11.



THREE TODA HOUSES.

D. Raised bed of clay, measuring 8 ft. by 3½ ft., for the elders.

E. Vacant space on the floor, 5 ft. by 3 ft., where the family eats, and where the juniors sleep.

F. The door.

Nearly every Mand, and in some instances each house, is surrounded, at the distance of three or four paces by a low enclosure wall—Tûar[1]—built neatly but without cement. This wall, which in all cases bears the appearance of age, is so low (about 3 ft. high) as to preclude the possibility of its having 351 361 417

[1] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Dravidian dialects *s* and *t* are interchangeable. Thus Shri becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[See p. 62 -- Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VI.

351 361 417 originated in any defensive project, whether as protection from the attacks of man or the inroads of wild animals. Taken with the extreme narrowness of the gap left in it for egress, there seems no doubt of its having been designed merely to keep the half-wild cattle off the premises, lest they should trample on the children in their stampedes, or should rub their bodies against the low houses in their hours of ease. Neither the wall nor the enclosed area is in any degree sacred.

417 234 In close proximity to the Mand will invariably be found the pound or pen—Tûel[2]—into which the buffalos[3]—Êsm‡ Er a female—of the village are driven every evening on return from the grazing grounds. This pen, which varies in dimensions according to the wealth of the community in cattle, is fenced in strongly; in some places by a wall from four to five feet in height: at others by a fence of stout branches—when it is termed Mên Tûel—according as the site happens to be prolific in stone or timber.

[343] The herd of buffalos, being thoroughly competent to protect itself from wild beasts, is left in this pen without further protection, and, indeed, without any shelter, though the calves —Koan a male, Karr a female—whilst quite young are shut up at night in little huts situate close and often contiguous to the people's dwellings.

333 417 Deserted cattle pens have at times been mistaken for Druidical circles. When the enclosure wall has been made of large blocks of stone, and where from paucity of material it had been constructed of double rows of stone filled in with soil, and the earth had in due course been washed away, then the stones left standing would remain in very religious form;

[2] Tûar, Tûel. Tamil, Suvar. In all the Drâvidian dialects *s* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus Shrî becomes Tiri. Ar and El are affixes which are used in the formation of nouns. [POPE.]

[3] When Todas talk of their cattle generally, the word Êr is invariably used.

‡ [Letters did not reproduce here in the original text—Analyst]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Opp. P. 164

346
351

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

CONICAL TEMPLE.

BOATH.

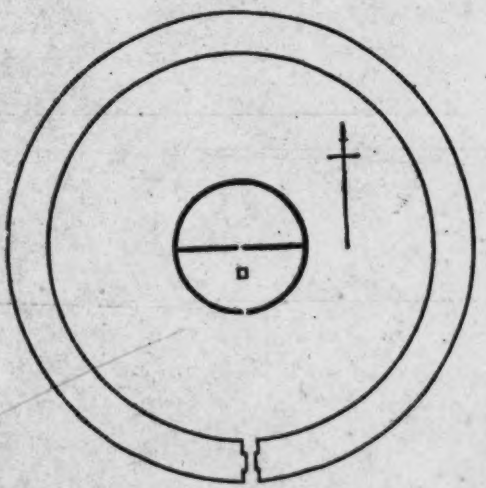
2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIX.

The appearance of the building is as follows; a conical thatched roof on a circular wall of very stout planking. The wall about four cubits high. The whole edifice some fourteen or fifteen cubits tall and six cubits in diameter. At a distance of approximately six cubits, the temple is surrounded by a massive wall of uncut stone, put together without cement, two cubits broad and three in height.

I have represented in the sketch the wall as partially

No. 20.



CONICAL TEMPLE—BOATH.

thrown down, with a view to displaying the entire building, but in reality the circuit of the wall is complete.

The apex of the cone is crowned with a large stone, placed there apparently with the object—however inadequate the conception—of steadying the roof, or perhaps excluding rain from that weak point.

Some days subsequent to this visit, selecting a dark night for the purpose, and accompanied by a friend—who, I had better at once state, was not the reverend companion who has

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

"A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

"Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10 feet."

The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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* Derived from *Mani*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mutt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mani*.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

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